held high, and everyone acclaims the miracle. Everyone tries to obtainssome of the water to drink; the bottom of the hole keeps filling up for some time. Later, mud from the hole is passed around on green leaves, and many, especially women, smear it on their foreheads, against sickness, demons, and barrenness which afflicts many of the townswomen. Some older Muslims recite prayers. The mood is generally gay, and the women banter happily from an hour after sunrise to high noon, when the feast is over, Then all begin to return to Gondar town, after pledging gifts for the next celebration of the saint's day, provided he has fulfilled their prayers.

Meanwhile, Copts, mostly women, including many barren ones, have joined the Muslim women on the hill. No special notice is taken of them; they are tolerated, and not insulted as they would be on other occasions. The Copts bring their own live sheep and the few Coptic men present slaughter them apart from the Muslims, so that their formula "In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, One Divinity", is not heard. The Christian women and children also smear some of the saint's mud on their foreheads, and also vow donations to the next Sheykh Abader feast if their prayers are fulfilled. They bear the tell-tale marks until they reach their own homes in Gondar, and are not punished for what otherwise might at least require re-baptism. Like Muslims, they even bring mud, rocks, and water from the saint's hill to their ill kinfolk. Coptic men do not flaunt their participation so freely. The Coptic priests, who of

832 to be ends of the twig, actually magic paste, "accidentally" hitting her. They pay for their beer, and leave. The next day, the dabtara takes his skeptical client past the same beer-hut, and lo and behold, the woman calls out an invitation to them, and refuses payment for the beer consumed. The client is now convinced.

This love magic is done secretly because it is considered highly unethical. At least the dabtara is expected to "release" the person "helplessly bewitched" after a while, and not leave the victim in this condition forever.

The dabtara is believed to know, from books on magic, not only the efficacy of banns and plants, but also of animals. His favorite animal is believed to be the chameleon ("zälbabäda"), particularly in love magic, ordered by women. The animal is dried, crushed to powder, and the woman then mixes this with her urine. She must read the formula out loud, containing her name and the name of her husband or the man she wishes to hold against all rivals, then throw the mixture in the air - to be carried by the winds and spirits.

751 The dabtara is believed also to have medicinal magic. Some "careful" men, before going to the adventures of the mead-house ("täj-bét"), go to his house to drink a magic potion to protect them from venereal disease that night.

828 838 When a woman consistently acts like a man, or a man like a woman, it is believed that there is some biological "mistake of God". In the case of a woman, she is likely to be blamed and even insulted, called "mannish" ("wändawände"). This term is used if she acts independent, takes interest only in masculine weapons and activities, and speaks in hard, insubordinate ways. If she is physically a tall, powerful virago, she is called "wändawärad" (lit. male-female), a female with too much

754 and are permitted to be dirty most of the time. As for males, the
776 buda also likes to feast on healthy-looking, fat, handsome warriors
[753] and chiefs. "Buda" is the general diagnosis when a person always known as healthy suddenly sickens and dies. Therefore it is feared even by the bravest warriors.

754 Even at present, when "modernization" is proceeding from the
776 central government, "buda" belief has not shrunk. It has simply
178 expanded to take in modern attractions. Thus, police officers in the provincial towns are believed to have attracted "buda", who has developed a taste for officers in nice, new uniforms; and is believed to be "greedy" for healthy-looking boys doing modern gymnastics in their new elementary schools, eager to consume their physical prowess and grace. Even rich, strong, fat, gay, well dressed Europeans are regarded as vulnerable, but less so because "they do not fear him". Fear attracts him too.

"Buda" is most active in August, at the height of the rainy season.
[821] His favorite time to strike is just after a heavy thunderstorm, when tornado-like gusts of wind seem to pull up the hut and try to pull the roof off. This would enable "buda" to "see" his victims better, and cannibalize them.

● 751 Many ways of trying to prevent victimization by "buda", or at
754 least of reducing one's vulnerability, have been devised over the
776 centuries. To reduce vulnerability, one should not appear too happy, too gay. One should not become an object of open admiration, or of envy and jealousy. One should further paraphrase the tabooed word "buda", by saying "watch your eyes". Newlyweds, who are very vulnerable, should cover their glowing faces for ten days, to keep

751 their happiness from showing. Eating and drinking in the open makes one
754 extremely vulnerable, because this arouses buda's greed, and at the
776 same time makes it easier to penetrate the victim's body, through the wide open mouth and unguarded nose. Therefore, old-time Amhara cover their faces when eating in front of strangers.

751 This attempt to reduce vulnerability is closely related to some
754 of the "language of the shamma" (toga). In the presence of strangers,
291 this can be draped in the fashion that indicates "reserve" - covering the mouth, or even nose and mouth, with the front section of the toga, which has been draped in a turtleneck. When travelling in strange districts, which are doubly dangerous because of cast-out buda spirits hidden by exorcisers along trails, a strong-smelling
[824] herb pushed in the nostril, is often used as a prophylactic. The most commonly used of these herbs is "tena adam" (lit. health of Adam, i.e. mankind). The mouth should be kept closed, or covered. In a fearful situation, he may say "shadow, may it not fall on me". Touching iron, considered specially "strong", also helps. Children are warned to stay away from strangers, and never to leave a baby unattended, lest "buda will eat you". The term "eat" is regularly used for buda possession (not for zar possession), for it indicates consumption.

751 Typhus ("talalafi basheta") and severe epilepsy ("yabuda basheta")
754 the latter literally ascribed to buda (lit. buda disease) are the most
174 common ailments promptly diagnosed as "buda" "eating". Evidently
[164] Amhara doctors long ago observed that covering the mouth and nose and staying away from possibly infected strangers reduced the exposure to certain contagious diseases; they then proceeded to envelop this observation in the culture pattern, including the draping of the toga and stopping up the nose, and not eating uncovered in the presence of strangers. But they also fitted this pattern into their cosmology.

177 The "seal of Solomon" (actually the 6-pointed star of David) often
755 appears on Amhara amulets (e.g. against Karina). Even Hebrew-
789 appearing characters are found on amulets (a widespread custom in the Middle East.) [125] As might be expected, Hebrew traits are even more emphasized among the Falashas, who begin every amulet with: "Blessed be the God of Israel, God of all Creatures; prayer against.....".

Arabic influence has served primarily as a carrier. Directly derived from the Arabs are the 12 signs of the Zodiac, found on Abyssinian amulets. Carried was the "seal of Alexander".

Christian mythology and hagiology predominates in the cosmology of the amulets of the dabtara. Many of them begin with the formula: "In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, one Divinity; prayer against.....". Deniers of Christ who are suspected as sorcerers, are often personified in these amulets as Falasha or Barya. Christian martyrs and saints, Abyssinian or "from Jerusalem", are appealed to for intercession against demons. The following are frequently encountered in amulets:

776 Abuna (bishop) Petra Maryam, Abyssinian saint, against snakebite (pro-
177 phylactic); St. George, "Qeddus Giyorgis", shown spearing a monster
755 (an old idea possibly dating to the Bel-Marduk battle among ancient Babylonians, and Ra and Horus in ancient Egypt).

St. Sebastian is often depicted in drawings, and appealed to against the Kagana and other threshhold demons. To keep out disease and [751] evil, this amulet is often placed above the entrance to a hut; but not in the doorway itself, if someone inside is already sick, for this would block the exit of the demon.

125. Reich, Sigismund: Quatre Coups Magiques. Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales, Vol. 7-8, pp. 159-175. Institut Francais de Damas, 1937-8.

164 the country at the moment. It should, however, be kept in mind, that with the opening of communication lines and increased traffic and travel, leprosy must be controlled, otherwise it will increase.

Typhus Fever

Typhus fever is known to occur in at least three forms. Classical louse-borne typhus is endemic on the high plateau. Major Ecke of the American Typhus Commission visited Ethiopia in 1944 and found that, while the occurrence of murine typhus has not been scientifically proved, it is extremely likely that this form plays an important rôle. Recently a number of cases of tick typhus have been reported from southern Ethiopia.

164 The Central Laboratory in Addis Ababa has isolated four local strains of rickettsia.
742 One of these has been constantly orchitic for 52 passages through guinea-pigs, while the other three were non-orchitic.

164 Cases fall clinically in two main groups. One has a fulminant course with a very high mortality; the other is extremely mild. The high mortality among Italian laborers in the early days of the occupation (sometimes reaching 20 percent) was no doubt due to louse-borne typhus. Fatality in hospitals in Addis Ababa ranged from five to thirty-five percent. Typhus occurs in Ethiopia in the cold, wet months of July, August and September. Surveys have shown that lousiness is almost universal.

751 During the Italian occupation a large scale vaccination campaign with Weigl vaccine was undertaken. This vaccine has recently been replaced by American vaccine, and large scale vaccination has been carried out since 1945.

Relapsing Fever

164 In 1868, relapsing fever broke out in India and Hirsch (1886) states that it may have been introduced by Napier's soldiers returning from Ethiopia. The disease is no doubt old in Africa, where it occurs in both louse-borne and tick-borne forms.

[p. 717A]

164

Elephantiasis with secondary fungus and bacterial infection.

around Massawa (Eritrea) was shown early in the war by Mahaffy and Sams. Too little work has so far been done in Ethiopia to express any definite opinion on the occurrence of yellow fever in this country. A series of sera taken in the Jimma region proved negative, but recently a case has been described from the Dagobur region (Ogaden), and a few positive sera have been found. For practical purposes Ethiopia is in the yellow fever area of Africa.

Smallpox

164
●751 Smallpox is an old disease in Ethiopia. It is possible that an outbreak of smallpox in 370 A.D. in Arabia was connected with the Abyssinian invasion of this country. Hirsch (1886) states that one of the most intense foci of smallpox is found on African soil in the countries of the Nile basin, Egypt, Nubia, Kordofan and the Abyssinian Highlands. Rochet d'Hericourt (1841) describes the variolation practised in Shoa at the time of his visit:

> "They take pus from a sick person and make an incision on the leg of the person to receive the variolation. The virus is introduced into the incision, which is then covered with cotton."

[p. 719A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

pleasure among the Amhara, but also as a typical response to situations which arouse anxiety. The crisis of death is met first of all by a prolonged ritual of wailing, and this is followed by a series of memorial feasts which occur on fixed days following the person's death. Any kind of bad news evokes repeated exclamations of "Ay! Ay!" When a child or wife is punished, the response is a prolonged and monotonous yell usually out of proportion to the actual pain felt. In the anxious hour before battle, war chants and boastful cries tune up the warriors' spirits. Moments of great awe, finally, such as the appearance of the holy ark when it is brought out of the church or the arrival of some great political personage, occasion a shrill ululation.

Response to illness was the anxiety area chosen as an index of positive fixation by Whiting and Child in their cross-cultural study of *Child Training and Personality*. They assumed that a fixation on oral gratification would express itself in a preference for therapies which involve swallowing something.[18] In this area, too, Amhara culture displays a preoccupation with orality, and not just in the form of swallowing. Something akin to a general principle for oral therapy appears in the well-known Amharic proverb: "For headache, shout on it! For stomach-ache, eat on it!"

A number of the oral therapies practiced by the Amhara are naturally functional, such as drinking a purgative made from leaves of the *kosso* tree to cure tapeworm, or eating a kind of unleavened corn bread to arrest dysentery. Beyond this, most of their magical therapies are also oral. Drinking holy water (and sometimes bathing in it) is believed to cure nearly every sort of affliction, from rheumatism and leprosy to eye and ear ailments. In some regions it is believed that eating the liver of a hyena will cure syphilis. Psychotherapy, too, often relies on oral remedies: the *zär* on a patient is often placated by feeding him, via the patient, a sumptuous meal. Oral types of prophylaxis are also to be noted. Garlic is eaten in order to prevent malaria. Certain kinds of animals are eaten on special occasions in order to ward off sickness. Finally, there is the remarkable phenomenon of the *lälibalä*, a night singer, who can protect himself against hereditary leprosy only by singing out loud in the night air.

In general, one can say that the Amhara have a tendency to attribute magical efficacy to oral incorporation and, to a lesser extent, to the adroit use of language. The latter belief appears in the assumption that human problems are solved by attaining some particularly fortunate verbal formulation, and in the association of outstanding wisdom with unusual mastery of language. The former appears in beliefs and legends which associate eating a lot with the attainment of unusual bravery, longevity, and physical strength. A legend about the invader Ahmad Gräñ, for example, relates that as a baby he was able to consume fourteen bowls of *ïnjarä* at one sitting. A num-

• 751 758 the sunlight.[6] After the disease symptoms have disappeared, and the convalescent has regained his former vitality, some precautions may still be followed to prevent the return of the original syndrome, to which he [262] may have developed a vulnerability. For example, the former sickman may be forbidden to eat one or more of the foodstuffs which were included among the materia [778] medica of his cure. Often, an amulet containing dried materia medica of the primary medicine is also worn.

*278 Pharmacological Combinations. In the abstract, Amhara pharmacology can be considered as a corpus of discrete and varied instructions for a) conserving the latent healing power of botanicals, and b) converting this power into therapeutically effective agents. Seen from this perspective, Amhara pharmacolog y has the potential for a large number of logically possible combinations of instructions, ranging from those with few directions of any kind, to combinations with elaborate instructions in each pharmacological category. Although, empirically, Amhara herbal therapies probably fall short of the potential number of combinations, the combinations charac-

[757] [834] [6]Primary syphilis, in particular, sets elaborate requirements---the removal of all hair from the body, head, and face; in addition, there is a period of abstinence from coitus.

chases more exotic ingredients from an herbalist (in this transaction, acting as medhaniyt korac) who is known to treat the relevant ailment. Medicaments are mixed with the tokwariy's ink for all instances of therapeutic tattooing. The decision to include medicaments in prophylactic tattooing reflects the tokwariy's alternative strategies. In the first of these, the tattooing aims to drive away the pathogenic agent, by a combination of designs. These designs are associated with the pathogen in "conventional" or pragmatic terms only; the medicaments used in tattooing are derived from herbalist therapies in which the medicament assisted in expelling the pathogen from the sickman. The second strategy is directed against purposive agents, those responsible for yisew syn and yibuda basiyta (discussed in chapter one). Here no medicaments are used, and the designs aim to distract the agent's attention and his disease-causing eye from vulnerable areas of the potential victim's body, particularly away from his mouth. Children under ten are rarely tattooed, but are protected from these agents by bizarre haircuts (for example, three asymmetrically arranged patches of hair on an otherwise shaven skull, or a single patch on the brow), likewise intended to draw attention to less vulnerable body areas.

A variety of motifs are utilized by the tokwariy, necklaces of "beads", geometric decorations, crosses, and

prior to professional consultation. Rather, it comments incompletely on the appropriateness of a therapy already applied, choosing between "household diagnosis is correct", and "household diagnosis is possilby incorrect". On the other hand, the debtera diagnoses by means of awdunigist, and can provide information concerning the choice of an effective therapy. Moreover, the debtera is generally consulted for serious ailments, many of which are identifiable as cases of poisoning (mera) or sorcery (sray) which have been instigated by a human enemy of the sickman. Here, the debtera diagnoses not only the correct disease-name, but also indicates the probable identity of the malfactor.[32] Beyond its incidental therapeutic value, this is necessary for preventing the future occurence of this syndrome or an analogous one, by directing prophylaxis against the pathogenic agency and counter-measures (i.e., physical or magical assault, change of residence, or reconciliation) regarding the sickman's human persecutor.

Awdunigist addresses a client's congenital vulnerabilities, whether or not these have been actually

[32] The debtera "assists" in identifying this individual, by indicating various characteristics, but does not actually name him.

breached. Thus, the information it provides regarding pathogenesis is equally relevant and detailed for prescribing prophylaxis, as it is for selecting therapy. The secular healer, in contrast, is unequipped to prescribe prophylaxis, except for the inconclusive and preliminary indications given by the hilimefoc. In addition to prescribing prophylaxes, the debtera provides protective kitabs for a great variety of medical contingencies. Among secular healers, only the tokwariy (tattooist) is able to perform prophylactic works, and these provide very imperfect protection against only a small number of ailments.

Laymen assess differences between their own medical procedures and those of debtera-healers most precisely with regards to the preparation and administration of therapy. Most details regarding the preparation and administration of the debtera's medical works are unavailable, directly at least, to the layman. In these areas, he perceives the debtera's medical works by means of a series of semblances, linking the "asmat" (magic) which appear in secular therapies with the esoteric activities the debtera is known or assumed to perform in his own therapies. Among the important "asmat" of secular therapies are the use of prescribed instruments for gathering and processing of medicaments, the special condition of the gatherer, the numerological content of pharmacology

The debtera-healer faces two practical obstacles to obtaining public recognition of his power. First, his most frequent works are prophylactic kitabs; however, prophylactic success can be assessed only over a period of many years.[45] Second, the overt expression of abinet powers is often prosaic, without visible signs of the extraordinary forces at work. These two difficulties in communicating his power are met, in part, by the debtera's display of esoteria during diagnosis, when he manipulates avdunigist texts in the presence of his clients, and during the preparation of therapy, when the otherwise secretive debtera sends his client to obtain some exotic ingredient which is necessary for the work.

Mithat. The debtera goes beyond these displays, however, to simulate, through the use of mithat, dramatic demonstrations of his putative magical powers (asmat). The debtera distinguishes mithat from other abinet subjects by the fact that mithat require no recitation or ritual beyond the spurious performances required to impress his public, and that the mundane materials used in the work are sufficient to produce the desired effects.

[45] The sale of kitabs usually provides the abinet-using debtera with the greatest portion of his income.